

THE INDIAN NATIONS.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

PRIDE AND GREATNESS OF MIND.

THE Indians are proud but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. The hunter never boasts of his skill or strength, nor the warrior of his prowess. It is not right, they say, that one should value himself too much for an action which another may perform as well as himself, and when a man extols his own deeds, it seems as if he doubted his own capability to do the like again when he pleased. Therefore, they prefer in all cases to let their actions speak for themselves. The skins and peltry which the hunter brings home, the deer's horns on the roof of his cabin, the horses, furniture and other property that he possesses, his apparel and that of his family, the visits with which he is honoured by the first and best men among his nation; all these things shew what he is and what he has done, and with this he rests satisfied.

So with the warrior; it is enough for him that he is known to be a man of spirit and courage by the scalps and prisoners that he brings home; he never is seen going about boasting of his warlike exploits, and when questioned on the subject, he makes his answer as short as possible. Even when he is entering a town with his prisoners and scalps, he does not stare about to see whether the people are looking at him, but walks his usual steady pace and marches straight forward without appearing to see any body. When at some of their particular festivals, every warrior is called upon to relate his feats of arms, they make it a point to be as brief as pos-

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701 sible, leaving it to those who have done but little, to  
727 swell their actions into importance, and give themselves credit for what they have done. I cannot illustrate this subject better than by a few anecdotes.

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In the year 1779, two war chiefs, the one a young man of the Shawano tribe, and the other an old warrior of the Wyandots, living near Detroit, much celebrated for his great actions, but who during the whole of the revolutionary war, could not be persuaded to take the field against the Americans, met accidentally at my house on Muskingum, where they had separately come to pay me a friendly visit. The Shawano (whose nation, by the bye, are noted for much talk,) entered upon the subject of war, and with much earnestness in words and gestures, related the actions he had been engaged in, shewing at the same time on his arm the mark of a bullet wound. During all this time, the Wyandot, smoking his pipe, listened with great attention and apparent surprise; and having afterwards to answer, according to custom, by relating what he had done, he laid down his pipe, and deliberately drawing off his clothes, except the breech-cloth, rose up and said: "I have been in upwards  
"of twenty engagements with the enemy and fought with  
"the French against the English; I have warred against  
"the southern nations, and my body shews that I have  
"been struck and wounded by nine balls. These two  
"wounds I received at the same moment, from two Cherokeees, who, seeing me fall, rested their guns against  
"a tree, and ran up with their tomahawks to dispatch  
"me, and take off my scalp. With the aid of the Great  
"Spirit, I jumped up, just at the moment when they  
"were about to give me the stroke. I struck them and  
"they both fell at my feet. I took their scalps, and returned home." Thus this grave and respectable veteran gave a lesson to the young Shawano, which, if he well understood, he, no doubt, ever after remembered;

535 enclosed or surrounded with posts, and roofed with the  
721 bark of trees; sometimes also this dance is executed  
in the open air. There every man presents himself in  
warrior's array, contemptuously looking upon the paint-  
ed post, as if it was the enemy whom he is about to en-  
gage; as he passes by it he strikes, stabs, grasps, pre-  
tends to scalp, to cut, to run through; in short, endea-  
vours to shew what he would do to a real enemy, if he  
had him in his power.

535 It was an ancient custom among the Indians to per-  
721 form this dance round a prisoner, and as they danced,  
727 to make him undergo every kind of torture, previous to  
putting him to death. The prisoner appeared to partake  
in the merriment, contemptuously scoffing at his execu-  
tioner, as being unskilled in the art of inflicting torments:  
strange as this conduct may appear, it was not without  
a sufficient motive. The object of the unfortunate suf-  
ferer was to rouse his relentless tormenters to such a pitch  
of fury, that some of them might, at an unguarded mo-  
ment, give him the finishing stroke and put him out of his  
pain.

535 Previous to going out on a warlike campaign, the  
721 war-dance is always performed round the painted post.  
It is the Indian mode of recruiting. Whoever joins in  
the dance is considered as having enlisted for the cam-  
paign, and is obliged to go out with the party.

727 After returning from a successful expedition, a dance  
of thanksgiving is always performed, which partakes of  
the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompa-  
nied with singing and chorusses, in which the women  
join. But they take no part in the rest of the perform-  
ance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted  
as many times as there have been scalps taken from the  
enemy.

The Indians also meet occasionally for the purpose of  
recounting their warlike exploits, which is done in a kind  
of half-singing or recitative. The oldest warrior recites

first, then they go on in rotation and in order of seniority, the drum beating all the time, as it were to give to the relation the greater appearance of reality. After each has made a short recital in his turn, they begin again in the same order, and so continue going the rounds, in a kind of alternate chaunting, until every one has concluded. On these occasions, great care must be taken not to give offence by affecting superiority over the others, for every warrior feels his own consequence, and is ready, if insulted, to shew by his actions, what he has performed in war and is still able to do. I well remember an instance of the kind, when an insulted warrior stepped out of the circle in which he was dancing, and struck dead the impudent boaster who had offended him. [579]

Their songs are in general of the warlike or of the tender and pathetic kind. They are sung in short sentences, not without some kind of measure, harmonious to an Indian ear. The music is well adapted to the words, and to me is not displeasing. I would not attempt to give an idea of it by means of our musical notes, as has been done by other writers, lest I should be as unsuccessful as those who have tried in the same manner to describe the melodies of the ancient Greeks. It would be well if I could describe at one and the same time the whole combination of effects which acted upon my ear, but it is vain to endeavour to do it partially. It is, indeed, much the same with their poetry; yet I cannot resist the temptation of translating as well as I can, the words of the Lenape's song, when they go out to war. They sing it, as I give it here, in short lines or sentences, not always the whole at one time, but most generally in detached parts, as time permits and as the occasion or their feelings prompt them. Their accent is very pathetic, and the whole, in their language, produces considerable effect. 533

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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,\* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

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I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the sacred performance, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

\* See Laskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SCALPING—WHOOPS OR YELLS—PRISONERS.

726 SCALPING is a practice which the Indians say has  
727 obtained with their nations for ages. I need not describe  
the manner in which the operation is performed; it has  
been sufficiently done by others.\* Indian warriors think  
it necessary to bring home the scalps of those they have  
killed or disabled, as visible proofs of their valour; other-  
wise they are afraid that their relations of the combat  
and the account they give of their individual prowess  
might be doubted or disbelieved. Those scalps are dried  
up, painted and preserved as trophies, and a warrior is  
esteemed in proportion to the number of them that he  
can shew.

726 It is well known fact that the Indians pluck out all  
302 their hair except one tuft on the crown of their heads,  
but the reason of this exception is not, perhaps, so well  
understood, which is no other than to enable themselves  
to take off each others' scalps in war with greater faci-  
lity. "When we go to fight an enemy," say they, "we  
meet on equal ground; and we take off each other's  
scalps, if we can. The conqueror, whoever he may be,  
is entitled to have something to shew to prove his bra-  
very and his triumph, and it would be ungenerous in a  
warrior to deprive an enemy of the means of acqui-  
ring that glory of which he himself is in pursuit. A  
warrior's conduct ought to be manly, else he is no man."  
As this custom prevails among all the Indian nations, it

\* See Loskiel, p. 1. ch. 11.

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would seem, as far as I have known, to be the result of a tacit agreement among them, to leave the usual trophies of victory accessible to the contending warriors on all sides; fearing, perhaps, that if a different custom should be adopted by one nation from motives of personal safety, or to destroy the warlike reputation of their rivals or enemies, it might be easily imitated on the other side, and there would be an end to Indian valour and heroism. Indeed, it is certain, that all the weapons which the Indians make use of in war are intended for offence; they have no breast-plates, helmets, nor any arms or accoutrements of the defensive kind, and it is not the least remarkable trait in their warlike character, that they make it even a point of honour to offer a hold of their persons to their enemy, by which if he should be possessed of greater skill or courage than themselves, he may not only the more easily destroy them, but is enabled to carry home their bloody spoils as trophies of his victory.

I once remarked to an Indian that if such was their reason for letting a tuft of hair grow on the top of their heads, they might as well suffer the whole to remain, and I could not perceive why they were so careful in plucking it out. To this observation he answered: "My friend! a human being has but one head, and one scalp from that head is sufficient to shew that it has been in my power. Were we to preserve a whole head of hair as the white people do, several scalps might be made out of it, which would be unfair. Besides, the coward might thus without danger share in the trophies of the brave warrior, and dispute with him the honour of victory."

When the Indians relate their victories they do not say that they have taken so many "scalps," but so many "heads," in which they include as well those whom they have scalped, but left alive, (which is very often the case) and their prisoners, as those whom they have killed.

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9 [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Ann (nt)]

● 727 Nor does it follow, when they reckon or number the heads of their prisoners, that they have been or are to be put to death.

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727 It is an awful spectacle to see the Indian warriors return home from a successful expedition with their prisoners and the scalps taken in battle. It is not unlike the return of a victorious army from the field, with the prisoners and colours, taken from the enemy, but the appearance is far more frightful and terrific. The scalps are carried in front, fixed on the end of a thin pole, about five or six inches<sup>a</sup> in length; the prisoners follow, and the warriors advance shouting the dreadful scalp-yell, which has been called by some the death-halloo, but improperly, for the reasons which I have already mentioned. For every head taken, dead or alive, a separate shout is given. In this yell or whoop, there is a mixture of triumph and terror; its elements, if I may so speak, seem to be glory and fear, so as to express at once the feelings of the shouting warriors, and those with which they have inspired to their enemies.

1243 Different from this yell is the alarm-whoop, which is never sounded but when danger is at hand. It is performed in quick succession, much as with us the repeated cry of *Fire! Fire!* when the alarm is very great and lives are known or believed to be in danger. Both this and the scalp-yell consist of the sounds *aw* and *oh*, successively uttered, the last more accented, and sounded higher than the first; but in the scalp-yell, this last sound is drawn out at great length, as long, indeed, as the breath will hold, and is raised about an octave higher than the former; while in the alarm-whoop, it is rapidly struck on as it were, and only a few notes above the other. These yells or whoops are dreadful indeed, and well calculated to strike with terror, those whom long habit has not accustomed to them. It is difficult to describe the impression which the scalp-yell, particularly, makes on a person who hears it for the first time.

2 [See also, Should read "feet." - Aug 1791]

I am now come to a painful part of my subject; the manner in which the Indians treat the prisoners whom they take in war. It must not be expected that I shall describe here the long protracted tortures which are inflicted on those who are doomed to the fatal pile, nor the constancy and firmness which the sufferers display, singing their death songs and scoffing all the while at their tormentors. Enough of other writers have painted these scenes with all their disgusting horrors; nor shall I, a Christian, endeavour to excuse or palliate them. But I may be permitted to say, that those dreadful executions are by no means so frequent as is commonly imagined. The prisoners are generally adopted by the families of their conquerors in the place of lost or deceased relations or friends, where they soon become domesticated and are so kindly treated that they never wish themselves away again. I have seen even white men, who, after such adoption, were given up by the Indians in compliance with the stipulations of treaties, take the first opportunity to escape from their own countrymen and return with all possible speed to their Indian homes; I have seen the Indians, while about delivering them up, put them at night in the stocks, to prevent their escaping and running back to them.

It is but seldom that prisoners are put to death by burning and torturing. It hardly ever takes place except when a nation has suffered great losses in war, and it is thought necessary to revenge the death of their warriors slain in battle, or when wilful and deliberate murders have been committed by an enemy of their innocent women and children, in which case the first prisoners taken are almost sure of being sacrificed by way of retaliation. But when a war has been successful, or unattended with remarkable acts of treachery or cruelty on the part of the enemy, the prisoners receive a milder treatment, and are incorporated with the nation of their conquerors.

1 [Erratum. should read "ou" - Analyst]

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Much has been said on the subject of the preliminary cruelties inflicted on prisoners when they enter an Indian village with the conquering warriors. It is certain that this treatment is very severe when a particular revenge is to be exercised, but otherwise, I can say with truth, that in many instances, it is rather a scene of amusement, than a punishment. Much depends on the courage and presence of mind of the prisoner. On entering the village, he is shown a painted post at the distance of from twenty to forty yards, and told to run to it and catch hold of it as quickly as he can. On each side of him stand men, women and children, with axes, sticks, and other offensive weapons, ready to strike him as he runs, in the same manner as is done in the European armies when soldiers, as it is called, run the gauntlet. If he should be so unlucky as to fall in the way, he will probably be immediately despatched by some person, longing to avenge the death of some relation or friend slain in battle; but the moment he reaches the goal, he is safe and protected from further insult until his fate is determined.

If a prisoner in such a situation shews a determined courage, and when bid to run for the painted post, starts at once with all his might and exerts all his strength and agility until he reaches it, he will most commonly escape without much harm, and sometimes without any injury whatever, and on reaching the desired point, he will have the satisfaction to hear his courage and bravery applauded. But woe to the coward who hesitates, or shews any symptoms of fear! He is treated without much mercy, and is happy, at last, if he escapes with his life.

In the month of April 1782, when I was myself a prisoner at Lower Sandusky, waiting for an opportunity to proceed with a trader to Detroit, I witnessed a scene of this description which fully exemplified what I have above stated. Three American prisoners were one day brought in by fourteen warriors from the garrison of Fort M'In-

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tosh. As soon as they had crossed the Sandusky river to which the village lay adjacent, they were told by the Captain of the party to run as hard as they could to a painted post which was shewn to them. The youngest of the three, without a moment's hesitation, immediately started for it, and reached it fortunately without receiving a single blow; the second hesitated for a moment, but recollecting himself, he also ran as fast as he could and likewise reached the post unhurt; but the third, frightened at seeing so many men, women and children with weapons in their hands, ready to strike him, kept begging the Captain to spare his life, saying he was a mason, and he would build him a fine large stone house, or do any work for him that he should please. "Run for your life," cried the chief to him, "and don't talk now of building houses!" But the poor fellow still insisted, begging and praying to the Captain, who at last finding his exhortations vain, and fearing the consequences, turned his back upon him, and would not hear him any longer. Our mason now began to run, but received many a hard blow, one of which nearly brought him to the ground, which, if he had fallen, would at once have decided his fate. He, however, reached the goal, not without being sadly bruised, and he was besides, bitterly reproached and scoffed at all round as a vile coward, while the others were hailed as brave men, and received tokens of universal approbation.

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prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles.

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts.

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity.

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were some who were enemies to the Indians, and a young Irishman, without cause or provocation, murdered their good and highly respected chief *Tudemí*,\* a man of such an easy and friendly address, that he could not but be loved by all who knew him. This, together with the threats of other persons, ill disposed towards them, was the cause of their leaving their settlement on this manor, and removing to places of greater safety. 648

It is true, that when flagrant cases of this description occurred, the government, before the revolution, issued proclamations offering rewards for apprehending the offenders, and in later times, since the country has become more thickly settled, those who had been guilty of such offences were brought before the tribunals to take their trials. But these formalities have proved of little avail. In the first case, the criminals were seldom, if ever, apprehended; in the second, no jury could be found to convict them; for it was no uncommon saying among many of the men of whom juries in the frontier countries were commonly composed, that no man should be put to death for killing an Indian; for it was the same thing as killing a wild beast!

But what shall I say of the conduct of the British agents, or deputy agents, or by whatsoever other name they may be called, who, at the commencement of the American revolution, openly excited the Indians to kill and destroy all the rebels without distinction? "Kill all the rebels," they would say, "put them all to death, and spare none." A veteran chief of the Wyandot nation, who resided near Detroit, observed to one of them that surely it was meant that they should kill men only, and not women and children. "No, no," was the answer, "kill all, destroy all; *nits breed lice!*" The brave veteran† was so disgusted with this reply, that he refused to go out at all, wishing however to see and 648 727

\* See above, p. 300.

† The same of whom I have spoken above, p. 160.

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converso with his old brother soldiers of the Delaware nation, with whom he had fought against the English in the French war, he took the command of a body of ninety chosen men, and being arrived at the seat of the government of the Delawares, on the Muskingum, he freely communicated to his old comrades (among whom was Glikhican, whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) what had taken place, and what he had resolved on; saying that he never would be guilty of killing women and children; that this was the first and would be the last of his going out this war; that in ten days they should see him come back with one prisoner only, no scalp to a pole, and no life lost. He kept his word. The sixteen chiefs under him, from respect and principle, agreed to all his proposals and wishes.

How different the conduct of the Indians from that of their inhuman employers! I have already related the noble speech of Captain Pipe to the British Commandant at Detroit, and I have done justice to the character of that brave officer, who surely ought not to be confounded with those Indian agents that I have spoken of. But what said Pipe to him? "Innocence had no part in your quarrels; and therefore I distinguished—I spared. Father! I hope you will not destroy what I have saved!"\* I have also told the conduct of the two young spirited Delawares† who saved the life of the venerable Missionary Zeisberger, at the risk of their own. But it is not only against their own people that Indians have afforded their protection to white men, but against the whites themselves.

In the course of the revolutionary war, in which (as in all civil commotions) brother was seen fighting against brother, and friend against friend, a party of Indian warriors, with whom one of those white men, who, under colour of attachment to their king, indulged in every sort of crimes, was going out against the settlers on the Ohio,

\* See above, pp. 123, 124.

† Above, p. 274.

to kill and destroy as they had been ordered. The chief of the expedition had given strict orders not to molest any of the white men who lived with their friends the Christian Indians; yet, as they passed near a settlement of these converts, the white man, unmindful of the orders he had received, attempted to shoot two of the Missionaries who were planting potatoes in their field, and though the Captain warned him to desist, he still obstinately persisted in his attempt. The chief, in anger, immediately took his gun from him, and kept him under guard until they had reached a considerable distance from the place. I have received this account from the chief himself, who on his return sent word to the Missionaries that they would do well not to go far from home, as they were in too great danger from the *white people*.

Another white man of the same description, whom I well knew, related with a kind of barbarous exultation, on his return to Detroit from a war excursion with the Indians in which he had been engaged, that the party with which he was, having taken a woman prisoner who had a sucking babe at her breast, he tried to persuade the Indians to kill the child, lest its cries should discover the place where they were; the Indians were unwilling to commit the deed, on which the white man at once jumped up, tore the child from its mother's arms, and taking it by the legs dashed its head against a tree, so that the brains flew out all around. The monster in relating this story said "The little dog all the time was making *wec!*" He added, that if he were sure that his old father, who some time before had died in Old Virginia, would, if he had lived longer, have turned rebel, he would go all the way into Virginia, raise the body, and take off his scalp!

Let us now contrast with this the conduct of the Indians. Carver tells us in his travels with what moderation, humanity and delicacy they treat female prisoners,

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● 727 and particularly pregnant women.\* I refer the reader to the following fact, as an instance of their conduct in such cases. If his admiration is excited by the behaviour of the Indians, I doubt not that his indignation will be raised in an equal degree by that of a white man who unfortunately acts a part in the story.

A party of Delawares, in one of their excursions during the revolutionary war, took a white female prisoner. The Indian chief, after a march of several days, observed that she was ailing, and was soon convinced (for she was far advanced in her pregnancy) that the time of her delivery was near. He immediately made a halt on the bank of a stream, where at a proper distance from the encampment, he built for her a close hut of peeled barks, gathered dry grass, and fern to make her a bed, and placed a blanket at the opening of the dwelling as a substitute for a door. He then kindled a fire, placed a pile of wood near it to feed it occasionally, and placed a kettle of water at hand where she might easily use it. He then took her into her little infirmary, gave her Indian medicines, with directions how to use them, and told her to rest easy and she might be sure that nothing should disturb her. Having done this, he returned to his men, forbade them from making any noise, or disturbing the sick woman in any manner, and told them that he himself should guard her during the night. He did so, and the whole night kept watch before her door, walking backward and forward, to be ready at her call at any moment, in case of extreme necessity. The night passed quietly, but in the morning, as he was walking by on the bank of the stream, seeing him through the crevices, she called to him and presented her babe. The good chief, with tears in his eyes, rejoiced at her safe delivery; he told her not to be uneasy, that he should lay by for a few days and would soon bring her some nourishing food, and some medicines to take. Then going to his encamp-

\* Carver's Travels, ch. 9. p. 196. Edit. above cited.

ment, he ordered all his men to go out a hunting, and remained himself to guard the camp.

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Now for the reverse of the picture. Among the men whom this chief had under his command, was one of those white vagabonds whom I have before described. The captain was much afraid of him, knowing him to be a bad man; and as he had expressed a great desire to go a hunting with the rest, he believed him gone, and entertained no fears for the woman's safety. But it was not long before he was undeceived. While he was gone to a small distance to dig roots for his poor patient, he heard her cries, and running with speed to her hut, he was informed by her that the white man had threatened to take her life if she did not immediately throw her child into the river. The captain, enraged at the cruelty of this man, and the liberty he had taken with his prisoner, hailed him as he was running off, and told him "That the moment he should miss the child, the tomahawk should be in his head." After a few days this humane chief placed the woman carefully on a horse, and they went together to the place of their destination, the mother and child doing well. I have heard him relate this story, to which he added, that whenever he should go out on an excursion, he never would suffer a white man to be of his party.

Yet I must acknowledge that I have known an Indian chief who had been guilty of the crime of killing the child of a female prisoner. It was Glikhican, of whom I have before spoken, as one of the friends of the brave Wyandot who expressed so much horror at the order given to him by the Indian agents to murder women and children.\* In the year 1770, he joined the congregation of the Christian Indians; the details of his conversion are related at large by Loskiel in his History of the Missions.† Before that time he had been conspicuous as a warrior and a counsellor, and in oratory it is said he

\* See above, p. 228.

† Loskiel, p. 3. ch. 3.

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727 never was surpassed. This man, having joined the French, in the year 1754, or 1755, in their war against the English, and being at that time out with a party of Frenchmen, took, among other prisoners, a young woman, named *Rachel Abbott*, from the Conegocheague settlement, who had at her breast a sucking babe. The incessant cries of the child, the hurry to get off, but above all, the persuasions of his *white* companions, induced him, much against his inclination, to kill the innocent creature; while the mother, in an agony of grief, and her face suffused with tears, begged that its life might be spared. The woman, however, was brought safe to the Ohio, where she was kindly treated and adopted, and some years afterwards was married to a Delaware chief of respectability, by whom she had several children, who are now living with the Christian Indians in Upper Canada.

Gilkhican never forgave himself for having committed this crime, although many times, and long before his becoming a Christian, he had begged the woman's pardon with tears in his eyes, and received her free and full forgiveness. In vain she pointed out to him all the circumstances that he could have alleged to excuse the deed; in vain she reminded him of his unwillingness at the time, and his having been in a manner compelled to it by his French associates; nothing that she did say could assuage his sorrow or quiet the perturbation of his mind; he called himself a wretch, a monster, a coward (the proud feelings of an Indian must be well understood to judge of the force of this self-accusation), and to the moment of his death the remembrance of this fatal act preyed like a canker worm upon his spirits. I ought to add, that from the time of his conversion he lived the life of a Christian, and died as such.

The Indians are cruel to their enemies!—In some cases they are, but perhaps not more so than white men have sometimes shewn themselves. There have been in-

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stances of white men slaying or taking off the skin of Indians who had fallen into their hands, then tanning those skins or cutting them in pieces, making them up into razor-straps, and exposing those for sale, as was done at or near Pittsburg sometime during the revolutionary war. Those things are abominations in the eyes of the Indians, who, indeed, when strongly excited, inflict torments on their prisoners and put them to death by cruel tortures, but never are guilty of acts of barbarity in cold blood. Neither do the Delawares and some other Indian nations, ever on any account disturb the ashes of the dead.

The custom of torturing prisoners is of ancient date, and was first introduced as a trial of courage. I have been told, however, that among some tribes it has never been in use; but it must be added that those tribes gave no quarter. The Delawares accuse the Iroquois, of having been the inventors of this piece of cruelty, and charge them further with eating the flesh of their prisoners after the torture was over. Be this as it may, there are now but few instances of prisoners being put to death in this manner.

Rare as these barbarous executions now are, I have reason to believe that they would be still less frequent, if proper pains were taken to turn the Indians away from this heathenish custom. Instead of this, it is but too true that they have been excited to cruelty by unprincipled white men, who have joined in their war-feasts and even added to the barbarity of the scene. Can there be a more brutal act than, after furnishing those savages, as they are called, with implements of war and destruction, to give them an ox to kill and to roast whole, to dance the war dance with them round the slaughtered animal, strike at him, stab him, telling the Indians at the same time: "Strike, stab! Thus you must do to your enemy!" Then taking a piece of the meat and tearing it with their teeth: "So you must eat his flesh!" and

648 sucking up the juices: "Thus you must drink his  
727 blood!" and at last devour the whole as wolves do a  
carcass. This is what is known to have been done by  
some of those Indian agents that I have mentioned.

In this possible? the reader will naturally exclaim. Yes, it is possible, and every Indian warrior will tell you that it is true. It has come to me from so many-credible sources that I am forced to believe it. How can the Indians now be reproached with acts of cruelty to which they have been excited by those who pretended to be Christians and civilised men, but who were worse savages than those whom, no doubt, they were ready to brand with that name.

When hostile governments give directions to employ the Indians against their enemies, they surely do not know that such is the manner in which their orders are to be executed; but let me tell them and every government who will descend to employing these auxiliaries, that this is the only way in which their subaltern agents will and can proceed to make their aid effectual. The Indians are not fond of interfering in quarrels not their own, and will not fight with spirit for the mere sake of a livelihood which they can obtain in a more agreeable manner by hunting and their other ordinary occupations. Their passions must be excited, and that is not easily done when they themselves have not received any injury from those against whom they are desired to fight. Behold, then, the abominable course which must unavoidably be resorted to—to induce them to do what?—to lay waste the dwelling of the peaceable cultivator of the land, and to murder his innocent wife and his helpless children! I cannot pursue this subject farther, although I am far from having exhausted it. I have said enough to enable the impartial reader to decide which of the two classes of men, the Indians and the whites, are most justly entitled to the epithets of brutes, barbarians and savages. It is not for me to anticipate his decision.

726 Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

In their wars they fight no pitch fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they way-lay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.<sup>172</sup>

721 Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermillion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.<sup>173</sup>

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.<sup>174</sup> Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obtained among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.<sup>175</sup>

713 The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.<sup>176</sup> War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey feathers when going to war.<sup>177</sup>

735 War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.<sup>178</sup> The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,<sup>179</sup> and prisoners were taken:

<sup>172</sup>Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.

<sup>173</sup>Trowbridge MS.

<sup>174</sup>Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210.

<sup>175</sup>Trowbridge MS.

<sup>176</sup>Johnson, 1917, pp. 281-82; Holm,

1834, p. 138; Lindstrom, 1925, p. 197; Lookiel, 1794, p. 141.

<sup>177</sup>Holm, 1834, p. 137.

<sup>178</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.

<sup>179</sup>Holm, p. 138.

## OF THE DELAWARE INDIANS

67

They cut and slash them alive, cutting off their ears, their noses, their tongues, and their lips, and also their fingers and toes: they also cut off pieces of flesh from different parts of their bodies, and then they stre<sup>727</sup> ashes over the wounds in order to prevent the blood from flowing.<sup>100</sup>

Charles Stuart, captured in the mid-eighteenth century, recounted the torture, motivated by revenge, through which he was to go. It bears a striking resemblance to Holm's account:

The Deaths we were to Buffer were as Follows, First our Fingers were To be Cut off and we were To Be Forced to eat them, then our Eyes pull'd out wch we were also to Eat, after wch we were To Be Put on a Scaffold and Burnt, the Manner of Scaffolding is first To Tie Them To a Post or Tree with so much Length of Rope as will allow them abt 3 Foot to move about the Tree, then they raise them a little from the Ground on a Logg or what Else happens to be Most Convenient to Set them on then Puts Wood about them and burns them up-After the Council in Genl had-agreed To Put us to this Death.<sup>101</sup>

Colonel William Crawford, who was tortured to death by the Delawares, underwent more or less the same rigors.<sup>102</sup> In general, torture was prolonged as long as was possible and was motivated entirely by revenge, particularly so in a case like Crawford's, since he had with him on his expedition men responsible for the Gnadenhutzen massacre. Captives who escaped and were recaptured probably suffered the most ingenious tortures.<sup>103</sup>

Prisoners were adopted if they were not killed. One late source stated that a family might request a leader of a war party to bring back "a prisoner who shall fill the place of some deceased relative." Trowbridge went on to say that "in the adoption of prisoners no particular distinction is made on account of age, save that the person adopted must be youthful to supply the place of a son or daughter, and aged for a father or uncle."<sup>104</sup> According to Zeisberger, if white prisoners were intended for adoption, their hair was cut Indian fashion immediately after capture and their faces were painted red. These adopted individuals were well treated, but if they ran away they were liable to be tortured and killed.<sup>105</sup> 727  
597

Prisoners were forced to run the gauntlet, whether they were to be killed or adopted. When the returning warriors approached a village, Indian prisoners were forced to dance while the warriors paraded booty and red painted scalps on poles. For white prisoners the dance was apparently not held.<sup>106</sup> The prisoners were made to pass through two lines of the general multitude to a hut or a painted post.<sup>107</sup> The men, women, and children were equipped with axes, sticks, clubs, and whatever else came to hand and would attempt to strike the prisoner as he passed by. Charles Stuart, who "ran the gauntlet," went through what is probably a typical experience: 727

<sup>100</sup>Holm, p. 138.

<sup>101</sup>Stuart, 1928, pp. 61-62.

<sup>102</sup>Butterfield, 1882, p. 293.

<sup>103</sup>Schweinitz, 1905, p. 410.

<sup>104</sup>Trowbridge MS.

<sup>105</sup>Zeisberger, 1910, p. 106.

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 106; Trowbridge MS.

<sup>107</sup>Zeisberger, 1910, p. 105.

727 It was my Lott to Be Carried to Kittanning with other Prisoners, and on Entering into the Town we were obliged to Pass Between Two Rows of Indians Containing abt 100 on Each Side who were arm<sup>d</sup> with various kind of Weapons such as Axes Tomhawks Cutlasses Hoop Poles, Pieces of Wood etc. But they did not strike w<sup>th</sup> Axes, and only Used the Heads and Handles of their Tomhawks, But used the Blades of the Cutlasses tho' not with so much Severity as To Kill, I had however the Misfortune to receive a Blow on the Side of my Forehead w<sup>ch</sup> one of them w<sup>ch</sup> Cut me To the Bone & a Billet of Wood Stikeing on the head abt the Same time Between Both. I was Knock<sup>d</sup> down to the Ground - It was only the more elderly People both Male and Female w<sup>ch</sup> rece<sup>d</sup> this Usage - the young prisoners of Both Sexes Escaped without it. . . .<sup>188</sup>

One girl captive (Marie La Roy), intended for adoption, said:

[We] received our welcome according to Indian custom. It consisted of three blows each, on the back. They were, however, administered with great mercy. Indeed, we concluded that we were beaten merely in order to keep up an ancient usage, and not with the intention of injuring us.<sup>189</sup>

Whether running the gauntlet was a precontact trait is undetermined.

728 Peace was secured by a defeated group through the agency of an ambassador. This individual bore no arms, traveled openly, and had no distinguishing marks of office other than a white belt of wampum, "containing the speech with which he was entrusted."<sup>190</sup> When he reached the enemy's camp a council was called, and the wishes of the ambassador were made known. If agreement was reached the victors invited the vanquished to a council:

At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing. The weaker party made the necessary acknowledgements, the peace belt was delivered to the conquerors as a token of their superiority and the parties returned to their respective homes. They never have used the pipe as is customary among northern nations, nor had they anything like flags or ceremonial bearings before their knowledge of the whites.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>188</sup>Stuart, 1926, p. 66.

<sup>189</sup>Schweinitz, 1905, p. 409.

<sup>190</sup>Trowbridge MS.

<sup>191</sup>*Ibid.*

644 a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

721 Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruellest manner.

701 The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

726 have recovered. As soon as they enter the enemies' country they can hunt no longer for fear of being betrayed. They provide themselves, therefore, with provisions for several days and watch their opportunity. Occasionally they must lie in hiding many days until their purpose is attained. As soon as the deed has been accomplished, they hurry away, exercising the greatest caution inasmuch as they know that they will be pursued and may themselves suffer injury. Those whom they kill are scalped and the scalps taken home. Prisoners secured are bound and led away and kept bound until they are no more in fear of pursuers. Thereafter the prisoners' fetters are loosed during the day. During the night they are fastened by their feet to a stake so split as to admit one leg, this stake being fastened to another that is driven into the ground. If one of them is wounded the warriors apply remedies which they carry with them on their expeditions and generally succeed in restoring them. 727 Often the wounded must be carried, and if it is at all possible to get them away they are not left to perish. They even carry off their dead, or at least their scalps, or bury the dead lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies. In a skirmish with the whites they generally remove their dead, which makes it hard to determine how many have been killed in action.<sup>200</sup> They generally return from a war in a half-starved state, which is not to be wondered at because of the hard experiences they have gone through, especially on the return. On the return march they are constantly in fear, not knowing which night their enemies may fall upon them, hence they proceed by forced marches until they know themselves to be out of danger. Occasionally, they are attacked at night or at break of day, when they sometimes succeed in saving life by flight, leaving their weapons and everything else behind. Thus deprived, they may be able to travel several hundred miles until they arrive in the territory of peaceful nations where they again find sustenance. They generally suffer excessive hunger and fatigue by the way, living upon the bark of trees, wild herbs and roots. Much of this they do not have to fear when engaged in war with whites, for these will not pursue them for any great distance. Cases have been known where the Indians have attacked

and stormed a small fort and taken forty or fifty men, women and children prisoners and not lost a man. The prisoners they led into the woods a short distance, divided into two parties preserving the more ablebodied and tomahawking the rest before their eyes. The little children that cried and wailed were dashed against the trees, so that the brains stuck to the bark. They are thus barbarous when victorious, and similar examples have been multiplied in times of war.

Prisoners are not ill-treated as long as they are in the hands of the warriors but fare with them alike. They have so much the more to suffer in the towns of the victorious people. The warriors, upon their approach to the town, repeat the death whoop according to the number of scalps, trophies or prisoners in their possession. Upon this signal, men, women and children run out to meet them, placing themselves in two rows. The warriors with their prisoners, whom they lead bound by their arms, march between the two rows and halt. The scalps they carry on poles held aloft and painted red, and the prisoners are forced to dance for the amusement of the spectators. The dance over they are ordered to go to a house which they see before them in the village. As soon as they set out the people begin to strike at them with switches, clubs, hatchets or their fists. If they gain the house, though ever so bruised and bloody, they are perfectly safe. Indians acquainted with this barbarous custom, if they are not old men, escape a great part of these cruelties by running towards the mark with all their might. Female prisoners are frequently rescued by the women who take them between their ranks and carry them to the town. I have witnessed both practices. As soon as the prisoners have reached the house the warriors take good care of them, wash and dress their wounds and when their meals are ready serve the prisoners first. I cannot think that this is done from compassion but rather that the prisoners may look well and do honor to the triumph they celebrate in passing through all the towns of their nation till they arrive at their own homes. After they have refreshed themselves and rested, the prisoners are led out for the amusement of the inhabitants. They fasten strings of bells or deer-claws to the feet of one of them, to make a

707 rattle for the dance, and present him with a parcel of small sticks. What is meant by the latter, the prisoner knows. He takes as many as he pleases and returns the rest. These determine the number of short dances he has to perform, which he does with great alacrity to the rattling of a calabash,<sup>270</sup> filled with small stones and marking the time. After each round he relates one of his heroic deeds or experiences in war, and delivers a stick to the captain who sits in the circle. Though the spectators may not understand his language, they guess his meaning by his looks and gestures. This ceremony is repeated in every town through which they must pass. With white prisoners the procedure is in some respects different. Commonly these particularly must suffer much beating, because they are not conversant with Indian manners and customs.

When the parties at length arrive at their own homes with their prisoners a council is held to determine what disposition shall be made of them. Many of the prisoners are received into families to supply the places of the slain, the lately deceased or those who may have perished as a result of a drinking orgy, and are immediately considered as members of the family. Such prisoners are well treated, according to Indian custom, and their lot is bearable if they content themselves with their new surroundings. They are not put to much labor, which in general is little regarded by the Indians. If they run away and are retaken their lives are in danger. If the prisoners are white men their heads are shorn in Indian fashion, only a little hair remaining on the crown, and the face is painted red. This is done as soon as they are taken, so that when the villages are reached it is hardly possible to distinguish whites from Indians. In general they are well treated by the Indians and allowed considerable liberty, provided they conduct themselves properly and do not act in unseemly fashion toward the Indians.

Those unhappy prisoners who are condemned to die must suffer the most excruciating torture, execution of the sentence often being delayed until the prisoners feel themselves safe. The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful disposition. A fire is made in the open, irons

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are heated, and the unfortunate captive is bound to a stake placed at some distance from the fire. He is burned with the irons. Long strips of flesh are cut from his body with knives and salt is rubbed into the raw wounds. He may be half roasted at the fire, then released for a time, with a view to prolonging his tortures, which sometimes last three or four days. At length rendered insensible by pain, death may bring release, or his tormentors put an end to his sufferings and throw the mangled body into the flames. Captives often endure the torture with the greatest fortitude, sing of their heroic deeds accomplished in war, and do not let their captors notice fear or terror of death.

Now and then a condemned prisoner is released by ransom; sometimes release is refused no matter how much is offered. In the year 1779 among the Wiandots a white captive was tortured to death. Several English traders who were there offered goods to the amount of several hundred buckskins, that is so many Spanish dollars but without success. Among the Mingoes and Shawanose this inhuman method of treating captives is particularly in use. In course of the present war<sup>271</sup> they have given several horrid proofs of their cruel disposition.

Some years ago when a party of Shawanose went to war against the Cherokees, a young Shawanose was taken captive by the Cherokees and condemned to die. On the following day the fire was started, he was tied to the stake, and every preparation made for his execution, when a Cherokee woman arrived with a parcel of goods, and throwing them down at the feet of the warrior to whom the prisoner belonged begged for his release, alleging that she was a widow and wished to adopt him as her son. Her request was granted, the captive released and delivered over to her, and on the same day he walked up and down the village well dressed. He was so grateful to his protectress that he remained faithful to her, even returning in due time from a visit he paid to his own people.

The statement that the Indians are cannibals is unfounded in fact. It has happened in some cases that prisoners were devoured, and it may happen now on rare occasions to satisfy vengeful hate. Formerly Indians have been known in the height of their fury to tear an enemy's heart out of his body and devour

266 it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to  
 266 war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners  
 721 to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner  
 727 to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this  
 fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed  
 without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

721 Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of  
 574 nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of to-  
 276 bacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will  
 soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke  
 their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part  
 in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, sim-  
 ilarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he  
 shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will  
 see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the  
 visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

728 The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations,  
 the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter  
 pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until  
 peace was concluded in 1768,<sup>272</sup> as, a few years before, peace  
 had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation<sup>273</sup>  
 through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Con-  
 cerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that  
 time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the  
 Indian nations.

648 With the Delawares the following nations are in league:  
 The Mahikander,<sup>274</sup> the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twich-  
 twes,<sup>275</sup> the Wawiachtanos,<sup>276</sup> the Kikapus,<sup>277</sup> the Wiondats, the  
 Tuckachschas,<sup>278</sup> the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen<sup>279</sup>  
 and the Kaskaski.<sup>280</sup> The two last named dwell along the  
 Wabash.<sup>281</sup>

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have  
 ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.<sup>282</sup> The  
 latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a  
 few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fu-  
 gitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They  
 moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party  
 of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckwelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckwelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zieisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 281-82; Koskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Hays, p. 11).

#### Crime

Offenses against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murder it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

362 mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to  
783 impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up  
and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance  
as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were  
consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the  
rules of life taught by him.

788 Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to  
869 wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see  
that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's  
duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their  
feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly some-  
thing to do to engage their time in occupations that would  
be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were  
also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would  
find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a  
long and happy life. The present members of the nation  
who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the  
indifference of members of the present generation in such  
matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in  
observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful  
and respected.

788 A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the  
515 washing of youths each morning in clear running water,  
preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, sug-  
gestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently  
in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided  
in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally  
for youths,\* even enforced upon white boys who had been  
taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the  
following narrative.

727 To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in  
783 the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing  
away defilement by the same means. Referring to John  
McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while  
living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are  
told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

\* An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, 727 •  
seizing him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears 783  
under the water and holding him down until he was almost  
smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating  
this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him  
in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a  
"roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian.  
Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and  
make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to  
make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go  
near the fire until he became dry.<sup>7</sup>

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future 844  
for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks 789  
of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native  
concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would  
be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire  
power as a swimmer.

#### THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,<sup>8</sup> consider them- 619  
selves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with 648  
neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great  
family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and col-  
lateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity.  
These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein  
other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without  
dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much  
stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed  
to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations  
that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving  
precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From  
various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position  
of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one  
of some value in coördinating the position of the different  
groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

<sup>7</sup> Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

<sup>8</sup> The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanguinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Miamee as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, *The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy*, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 499, 505).

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727 to the bundles and told them to run home again, where they had come from, and relate to their countrymen, how well they had been treated and entertained among the Black Minquas. They also sent good guides with them, whom the boys followed with a great noise,<sup>14</sup> shot at them with their quarrels until the one fell here and the other there. Such a miserable departure and end these poor people had, from which we can observe the awful cruelty of the Minquas. These Minquas are of two kinds, Black and White Minquas.<sup>15</sup>

484 Besides I further want to relate about the blood-  
304 letting of the savages and their wonderful medi-  
● 727 cines, which I have seen at least a hundred times among these savages. When the savage undertake to march a long journey, the first day he has marched, in the evening, when he strikes camp, he makes up a fire, takes a piece of flint as long as a finger which he has prepared and fitted for this purpose, sharp as a razor, with this he cuts himself all over his body into the deepest flesh, on his arms, thighs and legs, the depth of a finger, according to the depth of the flesh, deeper or less, standing then before the fire to shake off the blood, which runs off him, as if one had butchered an ox. When he now has allowed as much blood to run off as he thinks proper, then he takes a kind of ointment, which he smears over his body, wherever he has cut himself. Before morning, it is healed and run together, and blue streaks remain after it just as when one burns oneself with

<sup>14</sup> *Poiokearne medh stoort anekry efterföljde.*

<sup>15</sup> An atrocity story Lindeström had heard from the English.

WONDERFUL MEDICINES

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powder,<sup>16</sup> wherefore the savages appear entirely <sup>484</sup>  
striped and streaky<sup>17</sup> and especially the Minquas. <sup>304</sup>  
This is now [something about] the blood letting <sup>727</sup>  
and cutting of the savages, from which one can  
observe that they are patient and not tender-  
skinned. When now the savage has thus removed  
some blood, he may march and run as fast and as  
far as he wants to, he will not tire. This is a brief  
description of the wonderful medicines, blood let-  
ting, cruelty and patience of the Indians, because  
we must avoid details.

<sup>16</sup> När en brännar sigh medh kruth.

<sup>17</sup> Renotte, mod. Swed. randig (cf. ränna), striped or streaky.  
Lindeström's description is exaggerated. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian  
Nations*, 225-8.

[p. 246 is blank]

|                                                                                             |   |     |   |     |    |    |    |     |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-----|---|-----|----|----|----|-----|----|
| 386. War chief determines question of battle.....                                           |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 387. Plan of operations previously arranged.....                                            |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 388. If victorious, any ceremonies on field.....                                            |   | +   | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 389. If defeated, a rallying point fixed.....                                               |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 390. Ceremonies on return if victorious.....                                                |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 391. Dance.....                                                                             |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 392. Report to council and given feast.....                                                 |   |     |   |     | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 393. Ceremonies on return if defeated.....                                                  |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 394. Prisoners run the gantlet.....                                                         |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 395. Burned.....                                                                            | + | (-) | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 396. Generally adopted.....                                                                 | + |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 397. Prisoners of mature age adopted.....                                                   |   |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 398. Considered members of adopting family.....                                             | + |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 399. Age of beginning to bear arms.....                                                     |   |     |   | 12- | 15 | 24 | 16 | *14 | 15 |
| 400. Age of ceasing to bear arms.....                                                       |   |     |   | 50+ |    |    | 70 |     |    |
| 401. As long as physically able.....                                                        |   |     |   |     | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 402. Defensive armor.....                                                                   |   | +   | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 403. War caused only by injuries—retaliation.....                                           | + |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 404. Disputed boundaries only after coming of whites.....                                   |   |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 405. Principal chief states injuries, and calls for<br>volunteers, no arguments used.....   | - |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 406. Feasts precede march.....                                                              |   |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 407. Fasts precede march.....                                                               |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 408. Consultation of jugglers before march.....                                             |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 409. Provision made for care of wounded.....                                                | + |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 410. Women accompany war party.....                                                         |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 411. Any actions fought in canoes.....                                                      | + |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 412. Sieges prosecuted or defended.....                                                     |   | -   |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 413. Large parties go to war.....                                                           | - |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 414. Small parties depending upon surprise.....                                             | + |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 415. Scalps taken.....                                                                      | + |     | + | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| <i>Peace</i>                                                                                |   |     |   |     |    |    |    |     |    |
| 416. Ambassadors sent to negotiate.....                                                     |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 417. Persons of ambassadors sacred.....                                                     |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |
| 418. Carry belt of white wampum to manifest desire<br>for peace, delivered with speech..... |   |     |   | +   | +  | +  | +  | +   | +  |

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cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

#### *General Manners and Customs*

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig-

266 inating the torture of prisoners, burning at the stake, and eating  
727 of their flesh. These elements were considered to have been adopted by other tribes in retaliation. Hence it is difficult to understand how the Delaware could have escaped or withstood this influence. The only explanation that seems at all plausible is that when the Delaware were subjugated by the Iroquois early in the eighteenth century, they lost the prime reason for the practice and soon lost even the memory of it.

576 According to information from the eighteenth century and later, the Indian mode of greeting was shaking hands (62). The three manuscripts of the early nineteenth century claimed that shaking hands was a very old Indian custom and one in existence before white contact. In the national worshipping society or Big House where an effort was made to preserve ancient customs, the left hand was used. This was the hand nearer the heart and so considered to be a more direct conveyance of friendship. It is interesting to note that the two modern informants who have participated in the Big House confirmed this use of the left hand, whereas the two who have had no firsthand information of this ceremony claimed the right hand was always used by the Delaware. None of the seventeenth-century sources, including accounts not used in the tabulation, referred to hand shaking. This absence of mention is not surprising as many details were ignored by the early writers, but in the case of Williams who gave many different expressions for greetings and included a description of an Indian stroking a sachem upon both shoulders, the suggestion is strong that hand shaking was not in use until learned from the whites. Early accounts of customs at the time of contact between other tribes and whites also indicate that hand shaking was not an Indian custom. Hence, we have a custom that was borrowed from the whites some time before the accounts of the second period.

576 There seems to have been a change in the freedom with which  
562 emotions toward the same and the opposite sex were exhibited (70-73). Part of the responsibility for the apparent change may be assigned to a lack of information or understanding. It is doubtful if any conclusions are warranted on the basis of the

- 721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.
- 726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).
- 727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

- 713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fourth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as 7/3 the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period.

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consulta-726 tion of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We 727 have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party.

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to 723 the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence.

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as 727 trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Hecke-welder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period.

#### *Peace*

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate 728 very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated

57. *Rumbling noise made by jugglers*

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The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

## GENERAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

61. *Eating of human flesh*

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[727]

There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in LINDESTROM, but there is a description of torture by fire among the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. *Handshaking*

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JOHN JOHNSTON—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the highest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

CAPTAIN PIPE—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engömween, or worshipping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand.

[796]

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

384. *Guns stacked against pole*

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In marching against an enemy, they regularly encamp at Sunset—the method pursued, is, for the young men to procure two crotched poles and a cross piece, against which the guns are stacked, being first covered with *skin cases*—a fire is built on each side of this, between which and their guns, they take their rest, with their heads towards the guns, and their feet to the fire. 726

386. *War chief determines question of battle*

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The chief decides in most cases, upon the expedience of giving battle—in times of difficulty however, he takes the votes of his warriors on the subject. The order of battle is decided in the same way, subject to be altered by circumstances. [725]

388. *Any ceremony of victory on field*

HECKEWELDER said that there was a dance of thanksgiving upon the return of a victorious war party. 727

W. T. and E. R. thought that there was a ceremony of some kind but did not know exactly what it was.

393. *Ceremonies on return if defeated*

E. R. said that the few survivors of a defeat in war returned home, pounded a drum and sang a death song by which the villagers knew that they had been defeated and came and condoled with them.

395. *Prisoners burned*

CAPTAIN PIPE—The practice of burning prisoners is said to have been very ancient. It extended particularly to great warriors, whose capture and death was accompanied with loud shouts by the victors.

399. *Age of beginning to bear arms*

J. W. said boy might begin to bear arms at 14 years and even accompany war parties but could not be considered a warrior until the age of 35. [384]

408. *Consultation of jugglers before march*

- 721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—  
 767 the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. *Women accompany war party*

- 726 CAPTAIN PIPE—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. *Scalps taken*

- 727 ROGER WILLIAMS said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

## PEACE

728 418. *Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. *War club as emblem of desire for peace*

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. *Feasts*

CAPTAIN PIPE in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

454. *Co-coze-kon dance*

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. *Women excluded from war dance*

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were al-  
562 lowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out  
535 on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After  
[727] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

[P. 35, B]

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women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

## ORAL FIXATION

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There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth

[787]

mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.<sup>23</sup> Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a recurrent institutional theme: almost all

[527]

social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive character;<sup>24</sup> internal medicines were usually

[757]

taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually

[758]

in large doses;<sup>25</sup> the sick lived on a liquid

[754]

diet;<sup>26</sup> suicide and witchcraft were both

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accomplished in most cases by poison taken

[727]

by mouth;<sup>27</sup> tortured prisoners were some-

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times ceremonially eaten, and hunger

[757]

cannibalism was reported;<sup>28</sup> war parties

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made a ceremonial feast the night before

their departure;<sup>29</sup> emetics were extensively

used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-

ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt,

and also to bring luck.<sup>30</sup>

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.

24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantoquidgeon.

26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.

27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.

28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.

29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.

30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

[P. 38, 8]

154 rein these are the more violent."<sup>51</sup> Warfare  
 [721] provided a socially approved way of  
 bleeding off some of these aggressions, for  
 the warriors; and the institution of torture  
 gave the rest of the community a similar  
 154 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these  
 727 executions as to some great solemnity, with  
 a view to reeking on the unfortunate  
 captive their cruel and revengeful dis-  
 154 position."<sup>52</sup> The institution of blood-  
 627 revenge<sup>53</sup> (which sometimes led to  
 prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet  
 for aggression; but the fear of its exercise  
 no doubt served also to inhibit it. In  
 154 hunting, males could work off aggression  
 224 on animals, which were conceptualized as  
 quasi-human. It is worth noting that  
 among women, who had a more restricted  
 154 childhood and who at the same time had  
 521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for  
 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in  
 562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the  
 men, who had other means of catharsis,  
 professed to scorn.<sup>54</sup>

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-  
 273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.  
 578 "The effects which intoxication produces  
 upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented  
 Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of  
 an infinite number of murders among  
 them, besides biting off noses and otherwise  
 disfiguring each other, which are the least  
 consequences of the quarrels which in-  
 ebriation produces between them."<sup>55</sup> As  
 might be expected, therefore, Indian  
 spokesmen frequently—and in vain—  
 implored the whites to cease bringing  
 liquor into their settlements.

## SUMMARY

127 From an examination of the early  
 ethnological literature concerning the  
 Delaware Indians, we have been able to  
 discover some of their psychological  
 855 characteristics. The Delawares would  
 seem in general to have been a people  
 among whom the children grew up

51. Zenberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.

52. Zenberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.

53. Penn, 1683.

54. Zenberger, 1778, p. 116.

55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.